

**SOUTH AFRICA:
THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM**

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14 April 1987
Revised 26 May 1994



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Available in Canada through
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or by mail from
Canada Communication Group -- Publishing
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

Catalogue No. YM32-1/87-12-1994-05E
ISBN 0-660-15689-X

N.B. Any substantive changes in this publication which have been made since the preceding issue are indicated in **bold print**.

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INTRODUCTION

After decades of repression, protest and bloodshed, at the end of April 1994 South Africa held the first truly democratic election in its history after the black majority had finally obtained the right to vote. Voters elected a coalition government to govern South Africa for the next five years and a constituent assembly, which will draft a constitution. This review outlines the process that paved the way for this election and notes the role of the international community.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

A. The Internal Conflict

1. The Politicizing of the Black Community

The African National Congress (ANC) is the oldest black organization which opposes apartheid. Formed in 1912, it first attracted international attention in the '50s as a result of its peaceful demonstrations and the arrest of Nelson Mandela and a number of its other leaders. Police intervention in Sharpeville in 1960, as a result of which 69 people were killed, led the ANC to resort to guerrilla tactics. In 1962, the organization was outlawed by the South African government. Following the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the death in prison of Steve Biko in 1977, the ANC regained its influence, with numerous youths joining the organization in exile in neighbouring states. The ANC exerted pressure on the government through a campaign of sabotage conducted by its military wing, the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Sword of the Nation), and through the tacit support of a large section of the black community, through the

agency of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was more or less the representative of the ANC inside South Africa until the ban on the ANC was lifted in February 1990.

Not all black political movements support the ANC. The Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), a socialist group formed by black intellectuals (Azania is the name proposed for black-ruled South Africa) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, established in 1959, disagree with some ANC policies. However, the ANC's chief rival within the black community is the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Mangosuthu Gatsa Buthelezi, Chief of the KwaZulu homeland, who favours a non-socialist position.

Since September 1987, the townships around Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal province, have been the scene of bloody clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters. Ideological differences sometimes appear to be ethnic in nature and there are indeed rivalries between the eight major black ethnic groups in the country, especially between and even within the two major groups, the Zulus and the Xhosas. On the whole, however, violence between various black groups, which has so characterized South Africa in recent years and is undoubtedly one of the most disquieting aspects of the crisis in the country, is the result of ideological, rather than ethnic or other conflicts.

2. F.W. de Klerk's Reforms

For decades the black majority had demanded the removal of social and housing restrictions imposed by the dominant white segregationist community, which is mostly made up of Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers called Boers. The National Party government finally initiated a reform process only in the late 1980s, however.

In the 6 September 1989 election for the tricameral Parliament, the National Party again won a majority in the chamber for Whites, the most important of the three Houses of Parliament, with 93 of the 166 seats. The new National Party leader, F.W. de Klerk, who was elected President on 14 September at the start of the parliamentary session, claimed that he had received a mandate to achieve reform. Well aware of the strain on South Africa's economy caused by international sanctions, President de Klerk probably recognized that undertaking negotiations with the black community could not only remove the threat of wide-scale violence in South Africa, but could also lead eventually to the withdrawal of international sanctions.

However, in order to make negotiations possible, President de Klerk had to take important initiatives to convince the international community that he was committed to reform and to enable the ANC to begin negotiations.

On 2 February 1990, in a statement to Parliament, de Klerk announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SCAP). In order to improve the chances of success of eventual negotiations, de Klerk really had little choice but to go one step further and announce the release of Nelson Mandela, who walked out of the Victor Verster prison farm on 11 February 1990.

3. The Difficult Road to Constitutional Negotiations

After his release, Mandela embarked immediately on the process of bringing together the various elements of the black community, while at the same time trying to reassure the white community that the Blacks were committed to peaceful negotiations. He did not repudiate the ANC's armed struggle, keeping it as a bargaining tool to pressure the government into lifting the state of emergency. On 16 February 1990, the National Executive Council of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, announced that it was ready to send a delegation to South Africa to prepare for negotiations.

On 4 May 1990, after three days of discussion, the ANC and the government reached agreement on a joint declaration called the Groote Schuur Minute, which indicated their common commitment to a peaceful process of negotiation. At the same time, the government promised to work toward the lifting of the state of emergency. On 7 June, it was announced that the state of emergency would be ended everywhere except in Natal province. Discussions held on 6 August resulted in an agreement called the Pretoria Minute on the release from prison of ANC members and on the provisions for the return from exile of some 20,000 South Africans.

In view of these measures, the ANC announced that it was suspending all armed action by its military wing. Meanwhile, despite some temporary setbacks, the government continued its reform process. On 5 June 1991, the South African Parliament repealed the *Group Areas Act* and the *Land Act* and on 17 June, it repealed the *Population Registration Act*, the last legal pillar of apartheid.

In October 1991, the black community established a common front in preparation for the formal start of constitutional negotiations. During a conference held in Durban on 25-27 October 1991, a number of black groups agreed to join the ANC to form the Patriotic Front which would represent most of the black community at the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

4. Constitutional Negotiations

Despite the boycott by the PAC and Chief Buthelezi, 19 groups with a total of 228 delegates participated in the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa held on 20-21 December 1991 to formally start the constitutional negotiations. The 19 participating groups represented most of the white and black communities, including the homelands, while most of the absent groups, such as AZAPO and the Afrikaner-Weerstandbeweging (AWB) represent extremists in both communities who do not accept the reform process. However, Nelson Mandela and the ANC and President de Klerk and the National Party were the key players in the constitutional process.

The first day of the Convention, 20 December, was marked by frank and sometimes acrimonious exchanges of views, notably between Mandela and de Klerk. Bargaining positions were set out, the ANC arguing for a constituent assembly and an interim government while the National Party argued against these proposals, stating that transitional arrangements could take up to 10 years. On the second day, the participants were more conciliatory; although Inkatha and two homelands did not sign the final document, the meeting ended on a positive note.

Meanwhile, as violence among Blacks continued unabated, there was growing concern that the support of the white community for the reform process was diminishing. President de Klerk could not afford to let these doubts persist. Thus, on 20 February 1992, he announced that a referendum would be held on 17 March within the white community. The Whites who participated, over 80% of those eligible, voted overwhelmingly in favour of the reform process undertaken by de Klerk since 1990, nearly 70% voting yes. The results were hailed both in South Africa and abroad as a clear indication that apartheid had been abandoned.

Even during the referendum campaign, considerable progress was made in discussions leading up to the next CODESA meeting. On 24 February, the ANC had announced its acceptance of the government's proposal for an elected interim parliament. However, in May 1992, the CODESA talks were close to an impasse. After a meeting between Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, the participants agreed to meet again. Nevertheless, tensions between the ANC and the government remained high as they tried to strengthen their respective bargaining positions.

On 23 June 1992, the ANC, along with eight other delegations, withdrew from CODESA to protest a massacre in Boipatong township. Events in early September 1992, however, forced the ANC and the government to reconsider their position. On 7 September, ANC marchers protesting against the policies of the leader of the Ciskei homeland were shot at by Ciskei troops. The death of 28 ANC members heightened tensions within South Africa, prompting President de Klerk to request an urgent meeting with Nelson Mandela. The latter agreed, apparently because he was greatly concerned not only about the threat of increased violence, but also about South Africa's worsening economy. At their meeting on 26 September 1992, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela agreed to resume bilateral discussions. They also reached agreement on a number of issues including the release of political prisoners and the use of a democratically elected constituent assembly as an interim parliament.

Thus, when 1993 began, the reform process remained on course and an agreement between the black and the white communities appeared more and more likely. A six-day meeting between ANC and government representatives, which began on 20 January 1993, studied many issues on which agreement was needed before a formal settlement could be reached. These included the future of the security forces, the re-incorporation of black homelands, the formation of a government of national unity, the composition of a constituent assembly, and new electoral regulations. Despite the progress made, President de Klerk warned, at the opening of a new session of Parliament on 29 January 1993, that a civil war might break out if negotiations failed to produce an agreement in the near future.

Meanwhile, the government and the ANC continued their informal discussions. Following meetings between 10 and 12 February, government and ANC representatives announced that they had reached agreement on a power-sharing plan. According to the plan,

a multi-party government of national unity will rule for five years following the first democratic one-person, one-vote election in South Africa's history.

When, on 10 April 1993, Chris Hani, Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party and a prominent member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, was assassinated by a White, tensions significantly increased. There were a number of violent incidents, but the efforts of ANC, government and other leaders generally succeeded in preventing a major disruption in the negotiation process. The assassination and its aftermath did bolster somewhat the ANC's arguments for democratic elections as soon as possible.

At the end of April, constitutional discussions involving 26 groups began amid a new awareness, in the aftermath of Hani's murder, of the urgent need to reach an agreement. Procedural disputes in the early sessions delayed progress, but on 7 May 1993 the participants were still able to adopt a declaration calling for truly democratic elections to be held within a year. On 3 June, most participants agreed on a date for the elections. Some people, notably Chief Buthelezi, were not happy with 27 April 1994 as that date; their opposition was due more to disappointment that their demands were not being met, rather than to the date itself. On 23 June 1993, during a meeting on township violence and the discussions, Nelson Mandela failed to persuade Chief Buthelezi to end his opposition to the elections.

The negotiations suffered another blow on 25 June, when white right-wing extremists forced their way into the room where the negotiators were meeting; such extremists demanded the establishment of a white homeland in order to protect their rights when the black majority took power. The ANC and other groups resisted the idea of a homeland for Whites or an Afrikaner republic within a democratic South Africa. Meanwhile, Inkatha and some other black groups wanted a new constitution to protect their regional interests. Thus, both the Conservative Party, which is allied to the white extreme-right groups, and Inkatha were reluctant participants in the negotiations. On 2 July 1993 most participants officially accepted the date set for the elections, but the representatives of the Conservative Party and Inkatha walked out of the negotiations in protest.

5. Agreement on Interim Constitution

Despite the protests, negotiations continued and on 26 July 1993 study began on the first draft of the proposed constitution for a democratic South Africa. Discussions held on how the country would be governed in the months prior to the election produced a draft agreement on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). This was accepted by 19 of the 23 parties involved in the negotiations, including the ANC and the National Party, on 7 September. Legislation establishing the TEC was considered by the white-dominated Parliament and adopted on 23 September.

All the parties that participated in the negotiations had one representative on the TEC, which, in the period leading up to the elections, could block any government action that might affect the fairness of the vote, monitor the security forces, and control the activities of the military wings of parties. Most of the representatives on the TEC were from parties representing chiefly Blacks, showing that the black community was finally involved in the governing of South Africa.

The ANC had insisted that most international sanctions should be kept in place at least until Blacks were involved in an interim government. The day after Parliament had ratified the establishment of the TEC, Nelson Mandela addressed the UN General Assembly to call for the lifting of economic sanctions on South Africa. The ANC and others hoped that the removal of sanctions at this time would ensure an early start to South Africa's economic recovery.

Led by Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, who were both awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on 15 October, the negotiations made considerable progress and produced a draft constitution for the first years of the government to be formed after the April 1994 elections. In the early morning of 18 November 1993, after last minute negotiations, the draft interim constitution was accepted by almost all the parties involved. Inkatha, the Conservative Party and the right-wing white extremists, however, voiced their opposition not only to the draft document, but to the whole negotiation process.

Nevertheless, the white-dominated Parliament reconvened on 22 November to ratify the new constitution. Although Chief Buthelezi's discontent and the military preparations

of right-wing white extremists still pose a threat to the country's stability, the momentum behind the process for transferring power to the black majority is now too great for it to be stopped.

6. Interim Constitution

The interim constitution calls for a bicameral parliament composed of a National Assembly and a Senate. The National Assembly will consist of 400 members elected by proportional representation, with 200 members chosen from a national list and the 200 others from a regional list. There will be 90 Senators elected by the provincial legislatures, each province having ten senators. The new constitution reorganizes the old provinces and black homelands into nine provinces. An 11-member Constitutional Court will interpret the constitution and resolve disputes between different levels of government.

The National Assembly was given the power to elect the President. The Cabinet will have 27 ministers, but, in keeping with the multi-party nature of the interim constitution, all parties obtaining 5% or more of the vote in the election will be represented. The negotiators agreed that, after the vote in 1994, there would be no elections until 1999. By 1996, the new Parliament, acting as a constituent assembly, will have to adopt a permanent constitution by a two-thirds majority.

7. Election Campaign

On 22 December 1993, the Parliament adopted the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act*, which cleared the way for the coming into force of the interim constitution after the election. South Africa's government, however, had already changed significantly a few weeks before, when the TEC held its first meeting on 7 December.

Another major change took place on 1 January 1994, when new legislation came into effect which, among other things, allowed over seven million people in the various homelands to regain South African citizenship and with it the right to vote in the election. As part of its apartheid policies, in the 1970s and 1980s the South African government had created black homelands to which it had forcibly moved some three million people. The government had declared the homelands independent and claimed that their inhabitants were citizens of these homelands rather than citizens of South Africa. The international community had refused to

recognize the independence of the homelands, but South Africa persisted in denying citizenship to homeland residents.

Although the homelands were slated to disappear after the election, the issue still threatened to disrupt the election campaign. Some of their leaders, most of whom had been appointed by the South African government when the homelands were established, refused to abandon their powers and privileges. The homelands of Ciskei, Bophutatswana, and KwaZulu, led by Chief Buthelezi, rejected the interim constitution. The leader of the Ciskei homeland ended his opposition on 10 January, but the continuing resistance of the other two homelands threatened to disrupt the election by seriously hampering both campaigning by the political parties and actual voting.

The position taken by the Bophutatswana leader, Lucas Mangope, added weight to the claims of the KwaZulu homeland and the Afrikaner Volksfront the right-wing white group. The KwaZulu homeland led by Chief Buthelezi wanted to continue to exist after the election, while the Afrikaner Volksfront considered a homeland the best way to protect the rights of Afrikaners after the election. Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront formed the Freedom Alliance to defend their interests. Their refusal to participate in the election was seen by many observers as an attempt to disrupt the transition to a real multi-racial democracy. It also raised the likelihood of violent confrontations during the election campaign and afterwards. To complicate matters, King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus announced on 8 February 1994 that he did not accept the interim constitution and intended to rule over all Zulu lands as a sovereign monarch. Many observers believed that Chief Buthelezi had convinced the king to take such a position while others thought the initiative was the king's alone.

Having persuaded other groups, such as the Pan African Congress, to participate in the election, the ANC and the National Party concentrated efforts on convincing Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront at least to accept the legitimacy of the election now slated to take place on 27-28 April with special voting on the 26th. The ANC and the National Party feared that the continued resistance of these groups would exacerbate tensions within the country and significantly increase the risk of civil war. The ANC completely opposed the idea of letting the KwaZulu homeland continue to exist or of creating a homeland for Whites; the establishment

of homelands was one of the most hated aspects of apartheid. In a bid to deter Inkatha and the Volksfront from demanding homelands, on 16 February 1994 Nelson Mandela offered to make changes in the interim constitution that would give more power to the new provinces, easing concerns that too much power would rest with the central government. Chief Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Volksfront showed little enthusiasm for the offer despite President de Klerk's support for it.

On 1 March 1994, Nelson Mandela met with Chief Buthelezi in a bid to convince him to accept the amendments to the interim constitution and to participate in the election. After many hours of discussion, Mandela and Buthelezi gave a press conference where they indicated that an agreement was possible.

Discussions between ANC and Inkatha officials continued during March. Late in the month, the two sides agreed to have former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington act as mediators to help resolve the constitutional deadlock. By the time the mediators arrived in South Africa in April, the uncertainty surrounding Inkatha's participation in the elections and the conditions in which the elections would be carried out in KwaZulu was the last major obstacle on the road to the elections. An uprising by the population of Bophutatswana in the second week of March resulted in Lucas Mangope's fall from power. This allowed the TEC to take over the governing of the former homeland, thus paving the way for the participation of its citizens in the elections. KwaZulu was now the only homeland resisting the changes implied by the election process.

Faced with increasing tensions in the KwaZulu homeland and Natal province around it, the TEC declared a state of emergency in these areas in late March and sent in troops to ensure law and order. There was still a possibility of violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters on the election days, as a Zulu demonstration in Johannesburg and other violent incidents made clear; thus, intense discussions involving the groups and the foreign mediators continued into April. Almost at the last minute, on 19 April 1994, Chief Buthelezi announced that an agreement had been reached on the powers the new province would have, clearing the way for Inkatha's participation in the elections at both the provincial and national levels.

The euphoria with which the agreement was greeted was surpassed only by the joy expressed by voters and observers on the actual days of the elections. These were marked by some technical problems, most of them expected because of the large numbers of first-time voters, but not by the violence that had been so evident in past decades. The election results confirmed the level of support claimed by the ANC prior to the elections, while leaving the National Party with a still significant presence in the new South Africa. The results were as follows:

RESULTS OF 26-29 APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS

	Seats	Percentage of Vote
African National Congress (ANC)	252	62.6%
National Party (NP)	82	20.4%
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	43	10.5%
Freedom Front	9	2.2%
Democratic Party (DP)	7	1.7%
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	5	1.2%
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2	0.5%
TOTAL	400	99.1%

After years of struggle, true democracy finally arrived in South Africa on 26-28 April 1994, amid real hope for the future and without the cataclysm so many had feared. The new South Africa will still face major problems as it struggles with the legacy

of apartheid. This struggle will be examined in a new Current Issue Review: *South Africa: The Challenge of Democracy*.

B. International Reaction

1. Views on Sanctions

Despite their opposition to apartheid, Western powers, particularly the United States and Great Britain, were reluctant to apply greater political and economic pressure on South Africa until 1985. Western powers feared an increase in Soviet influence in the region and were hesitant to reject a government that had always been vehemently opposed to Communism.

In 1985 and 1986, however, Western countries imposed increasingly stiff sanctions in order to alert South Africa to the international community's impatience with the lack of reforms and concern about police tactics used against protesters. Canada joined other Commonwealth countries in imposing restrictions affecting, in particular, investments, imports of certain products and air transport. Most African, Commonwealth and Scandinavian countries strongly supported the maintenance of economic measures against South Africa. The private sector also took action against South Africa. Many multinationals, such as General Motors, IBM and Kodak, sold their South African concerns to local businessmen as a result of disinvestment campaigns led by public pressure groups in the West.

The wave of reforms initiated by President de Klerk, notably the release from prison of Nelson Mandela, dissuaded the international community from imposing new sanctions against South Africa. President de Klerk no doubt hoped that South Africa's improved standing in the international community and recognition of his commitment to reform would make it possible for these sanctions to be eliminated eventually.

Relations between South Africa and the international community improved so much in 1991, however, that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on 9 July 1991 announced its decision to recognize South Africa's National Olympic Committee, clearing the way for South Africa's participation in the 1992 Olympic Games. The IOC's decision to a large extent put an end to the international sports boycott of South Africa and added momentum to the

move within the international community to lift sanctions against South Africa. Indeed, a few days after the IOC's statement, 11 July, President Bush announced that the United States sanctions imposed by the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* of 1986 would be lifted, since he considered that all the Act's conditions for the lifting of sanctions had been met.

The strong vote in the 17 March 1992 referendum in favour of continued reform accelerated the pace at which sanctions were removed. On 6 April 1992, the foreign ministers of the European Community agreed to end its oil embargo against South Africa and to lift sanctions on sporting and cultural contacts. Most of the sanctions were kept in place, however, because the international community wanted to strengthen the ANC's bargaining position.

2. The Commonwealth's Position

At the end of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in October 1987, all members except Britain agreed that sanctions were an effective tool for applying pressure on South Africa and that they should be maintained. All members except Britain approved new measures, including the creation of a committee of Commonwealth foreign ministers, chaired by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, to oversee developments in South Africa and advise Commonwealth leaders.

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers met for the first time on 1-2 February 1988, in Lusaka, Zambia, and held a second meeting on 2 and 3 August 1988 in Toronto. Subsequent meetings were held every six months. The Commonwealth welcomed Nelson Mandela's release from prison and the other reforms initiated by President de Klerk, but most Commonwealth countries agreed that it was necessary to continue to apply sanctions in order to maintain pressure on the South African government.

At a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, on 16-17 May 1990, the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, in a statement called the Abuja Commitment, reaffirmed the Commonwealth's intention to maintain sanctions and expressed support for the measures taken by the government and the ANC to prepare the way for constitutional negotiations between the black and white communities.

The Commonwealth's position on sanctions was again reviewed at a meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers held in New Delhi on 13-14 September

1991. The Committee recommended that some of the Commonwealth's sanctions should be lifted, but that economic and trade sanctions should be kept in place until it became clear that the constitutional negotiations would produce an agreement on the transfer of power.

3. The Lifting of Sanctions

Two years later, with the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and agreement on an interim constitution almost certain, the ANC was satisfied that the de Klerk government was fully committed to the transfer of power. On 24 September 1993, Nelson Mandela asked the UN General Assembly to call for the lifting of sanctions.

Canada and other Commonwealth countries immediately complied with Mandela's request. The European Community did so formally in early October and on 8 October the UN General Assembly voted in favour of lifting all sanctions except for the arms embargo, which will stay in effect until the new government is formed.

PARLIAMENTARY MEASURES

As the situation in South Africa deteriorated in 1985, Canadian parliamentarians increasingly voiced their concerns about the violent confrontations and the slow pace of reform. In a statement to the House of Commons on 13 September 1985, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, recalled Canada's opposition to apartheid and called for the liberation of political prisoners, the establishing of a process of consultation and negotiation with representative leaders of the Black, Indian and Coloured communities, and the initiating of a process of reform. He also announced a series of measures to ban bank loans and the sale of crude oil and refined products to South Africa, which would be added to sanctions announced on 6 July 1985.

In its report published in June 1986, the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Canada's International Relations invoked a wide variety of economic sanctions to protest the lack of progress in the dismantling of apartheid. On 12 June, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced new measures to end government purchase

of South African products and an embargo on the promotion of tourism. The following day, the House of Commons held an emergency debate on the situation in South Africa.

On 17 July 1986, the Standing Committee on Human Rights passed a motion exhorting the Canadian government to intensify economic and political pressures on the South African government in order to compel it to dismantle apartheid and end its occupation of Namibia.

On 10 September 1987, in answer to a question from the Leader of the Opposition, Prime Minister Mulroney, as Mr. Clark, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, had done the day before, reaffirmed Canada's intention to end economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa if other measures did not produce the desired effect.

On 27 September 1988, in answer to a question, Prime Minister Mulroney reaffirmed his government's stand that the time was not right for cutting diplomatic ties with South Africa and referred to new measures, including new grants of aid to anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, announced by Mr. Clark the day before in Quebec City.

The day following Mandela's release from prison, 12 February 1990, John Crosbie, Minister for International Trade, confirmed statements by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark that Canada would maintain its sanctions against South Africa in order to encourage additional reforms. Mr. Clark reaffirmed Canada's stand on sanctions in a statement made in the House of Commons on 7 March 1990 when he reported on his meeting with Nelson Mandela in Lusaka, Zambia, on 27 February. Members who spoke on behalf of the opposition parties welcomed Mandela's release and called for stronger support for the ANC.

On 18 June 1990, Nelson Mandela addressed both Houses of Parliament, one of the main events of his visit to Canada. He thanked the Canadian people for their longtime support to the black community in South Africa in its struggle to end apartheid and establish true democracy. Mr. Mandela called on Canada to maintain its sanctions against South Africa in order to help keep the pressure on the South African government. In his speech welcoming the ANC leader to Canada, Prime Minister Mulroney reaffirmed Canada's commitment to maintaining these sanctions.

Following her trip to South Africa in April, Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall made a statement in the House of Commons on 14 May 1992. In it she reaffirmed the need to maintain some sanctions against South Africa to put pressure on the South African government.

In June 1992, the Sub-committee on Development and Human Rights of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade tabled its report *Canada, Southern Africa, and the 1990s*.

CHRONOLOGY

- 3 September 1984 - The opening of the South African Parliament, with a newly-created House for Indians and another for Coloureds, was marked by riots in black communities.
- 6 July 1985 - Canada, for the first time, imposed a series of sanctions against South Africa.
- 3-5 August 1986 - At the Commonwealth mini-summit in London, Canada, Australia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, India and the Bahamas recommended the imposition of new sanctions by the Commonwealth, despite Great Britain's opposition.
- 14 August 1989 - P.W. Botha resigned as President of South Africa. F.W. de Klerk became acting President.
- 6 September 1989 - In elections for the tricameral Parliament, the National Party won 93 of the 166 seats in the Whites-only House of Assembly.
- 20 September 1989 - F.W. de Klerk was sworn in as President for a five-year term.
- 2 February 1990 - In a speech to Parliament, President de Klerk announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party and the imminent release from prison of Nelson Mandela.
- 11 February 1990 - Nelson Mandela was released from the Victor Verster prison farm.

- 16 February 1990 - The National Executive Council of the ANC announced in Lusaka, Zambia, that it was ready to send a delegation to South Africa to begin discussions with the government.
- 4 May 1990 - After three days of discussions, the ANC and the South African government reached agreement on a joint declaration, known as the Groote Schuur Minute, in which they confirmed their commitment to prepare the way for peaceful constitutional negotiations.
- 18 June 1990 - Nelson Mandela addressed both Houses of Parliament in Ottawa. In his speech welcoming Mr. Mandela, Prime Minister Mulroney reaffirmed Canada's commitment to keep its sanctions against South Africa in place.
- 19 June 1990 - The South African House of Assembly repealed the *Separate Amenities Act*, which segregated public facilities and services.
- 6 August 1990 - Discussions between government and ANC representatives resulted in an agreement (known as the Pretoria Minute) on the release of ANC members from prison and the return of some 20,000 South Africans from exile. The ANC announced that it was suspending all armed action.
- 18 May 1991 - The Executive Council of the ANC announced that it was suspending its participation in constitutional discussions with the government.
- 5 June 1991 - The South African Parliament repealed two discriminatory laws, the *Group Areas Act* and the *Land Act*.
- 17 June 1991 - The South African Parliament repealed the last legal pillar of apartheid, the *Population Registration Act*.
- 6-7 July 1991 - The national convention of the ANC elected Nelson Mandela as president and gave the new executive the mandate to undertake constitutional negotiations with the government.
- 9 July 1991 - The International Olympic Committee announced its recognition of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa, more or less ending the international sports boycott of South Africa.

- 11 July 1991 - President Bush announced the lifting of the United States sanctions imposed by the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* of 1986.
- 19 July 1991 - The South African government admitted that the security police had provided funds to Inkatha to bolster its opposition to the ANC.
- 1 August 1991 - In a statement criticizing the government over the funds given to Inkatha, the ANC announced that it was nevertheless resuming its participation in constitutional discussions with the government.
- 20-21 December 1991 - Constitutional negotiations formally began at the first meeting of CODESA held in Johannesburg.
- 17 March 1992 - The results of the referendum within the White community, almost 70% in favour of the yes vote, gave President de Klerk a strong mandate to continue reforms.
- 21 June 1992 - The ANC suspended direct discussions with the government to protest the latter's inability to curb township violence. The ANC and eight other delegations withdrew from CODESA two days later.
- 25 July 1992 - For the first time since 1960, a team of athletes representing South Africa participated in the opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games.
- 26 September 1992 - President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela agreed to resume bilateral discussions.
- 19 October 1992 - Following the publication of a report, the ANC leadership accepted responsibility for the torture of prisoners in ANC camps before 1990.
- 29 January 1993 - In a speech opening the new session of Parliament, President de Klerk warned that a civil war might erupt if negotiations with the black majority were to fail.
- 10-13 February 1993 - Representatives of the ANC and the government held informal discussions which produced an agreement on a power-sharing plan.

- 20 February 1993 - For the first time in South African history, non-Whites were appointed to the Cabinet.
- 10 April 1993 - The assassination of Chris Hani, Secretary-general of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, significantly increased tensions within South Africa.
- 3 June 1993 - The participants in the negotiations tentatively agreed to hold the democratic elections on 27 April 1994.
- 23 June 1993 - Mandela met Buthelezi, but failed to persuade him to accept the election date.
- 25 June 1993 - Right-wing white extremists interrupted a negotiation meeting to demand a white homeland.
- 2 July 1993 - The participants in the negotiations officially accepted 27 April 1994 as the date of the elections. Inkatha and the Conservative Party protested against the decision.
- 7 September 1993 - Most of the parties involved in constitutional negotiations reached agreement on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.
- 23 September 1993 - The white-dominated Parliament approved legislation establishing the Transitional Executive Council.
- 24 September 1993 - In an address to the UN General Assembly, Nelson Mandela called for the lifting of international sanctions.
- Canada lifted its trade, investment and financial sanctions.
- 15 October 1993 - Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 18 November 1993 - The participants in the constitutional negotiations ratified a new interim constitution.
- 2 December 1993 - The participants in the constitutional negotiations agreed that the homelands would cease to exist after the elections.
- 7 December 1993 - The Transitional Executive Council held its first meeting.

- 22 December 1993 - The Parliament adopted the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act*, thereby approving the interim constitution.
- 1 January 1994 - Over seven million people in the homelands regained South African citizenship when new legislation came into effect.
- 10 January 1994 - The Ciskei homeland ended its opposition to the Transitional Executive Council.
- 16 January 1994 - The Pan Africanist Congress announced that it had suspended its armed struggle.
- 30 January 1994 - The Canadian Minister of International Trade, Roy MacLaren, arrived in South Africa for a five-day official visit.
- 1 February 1994 - The Transitional Executive Council announced that the election would take place on 27-28 April with advance voting for some people on 26 April.
- 8 February 1994 - King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus rejected the new constitution and threatened to rule Zulu lands as a sovereign monarch.
- 16 February 1994 - Nelson Mandela offered more powers to provincial governments in the hope of persuading the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront to participate in the election.
- 17 February 1994 - Chief Buthelezi rejected Mandela's offer.
- 29 March 1994 - The Transitional Executive Council decided to declare a state of emergency in the KwaZulu homeland.
- 19 April 1994 - Chief Buthelezi accepted an agreement on the powers of the new KwaZulu Natal province, clearing the way for Inkatha's participation in the elections.
- 26-28 April 1994 - South Africa held its first truly democratic elections.

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